

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-05

NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 DODE-00 H-02 NSC-05 CU-02 IO-11 OIC-02 SAM-01

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R 130956Z MAR 76

FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 233

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 1565

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, XH, PL

SUBJECT: CSCE IMPLEMENTATION: ACTIVITIES IN POLAND

REF (A) STATE 56127, (B) WARSAW 556, (C) STATE 56298,

(D) WARSAW 1260

1. IN RECENT MONTHS, THE MOST SIGNIFICANT REGIME ACITIVITY INVOLVING CSCE HAS BEEN THE STEPPED-UP PROPAGANDA EFFORT THAT BEGAN ABOUT THE TIME OF THE JANUARY MEETING OF COMMUNIST PARTY IDEOLOGICAL AND FOREIGN-POLICY SECRETARIES (REF B). THIS EFFORT GAINED INTENSITY DURING THE SOVIET PARTY CONGRESS LAST MONTH. ITS PRIMARY AIM HAS BEEN TO REITERATE, REFORMULATE, AND RE-EMPHASIZE THE GROWING CATALOG OF CLAIMED SOVIET-CAMP "INITIATIVES" ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION, CONFIDENTIAL

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BEGINNING WITH BREZHNEV'S PROPOSAL AT THE POLISH PARTY

CONGRESS IN DECEMBER.

2. A SUGGESTION OF A MORE SOPHISTICATED APPROACH TO THE BASKET III QUESTION WAS CONTAINED IN AN ARTICLE BY MAREK JAWORSKI IN TRYBUNA LUDI ON MARCH 9. THIS CONCENTRATED ON WESTERN SHORTCOMINGS ON BASKET III, IN WHAT APPEARED TO BE AN ATTEMPT TO ATTACK THE WESTERN CSCE COUNTRIES AT THE POINT AT WHICH THEY SHOULD PRESUMABLY BE STRONGEST.

3. THE JAWORSKI ARTICLE HAD A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE TONE THAN MUCH PREVIOUS COMMENTARY ON THIS SUBJECT. WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING THE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE APPROACHES OF EAST AND WEST TO HUMAN CONTACTS, JAWORSKI AFFIRMED THAT THE EASTERN COUNTRIES ARE CONCERNED PRIMARILY WITH INTER-STATE CHANNELS OF PROMOTING CONTACT. HE RECOGNIZED THAT THE WEST MAY BE HANDICAPPED IN THIS RESPECT, SINCE MOST CULTURAL ACTIVITY THERE GOES ON OUTSIDE THE PURVIEW OF THE STATE AND BECAUSE WESTERN BUDGETS ARE LIMITED, ESPECIALLY DURING THESE RECESSIONARY TIMES. HE SUGGESTED, HOWEVER, THAT THE WEST COULD DO MORE AND OFFERED SOME SUGGESTIONS, THE GENERAL NATURE OF WHICH CORRESPONDS TO THE CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE SHOWN BY THE POLES AT THE RECENT US-POLISH TALKS ON CULTURAL AND INFORMATIONAL EXCHANGE.

4. RHETORIC ASIDE, NO CLEAR TRENDS HAVE BEEN DISCERNIBLE HERE SUGGESTING EITHER ANY SPECIAL TIGHTENING OR RELAXATION FOLLOWING HELSINKI. WE KNOW OF SOME INSTANCES OF PASSPORT DENIALS FOR FOREIGN TRAVEL, PRESUMABLY ON POLITICAL GROUNDS, ALTHOUGH IN AT LEAST ONE CASE A PASSPORT WAS SUBSEQUENTLY ISSUED. THERE IS THE DISTURBING EXAMPLE OF A POLISH STUDENT WISHING TO UTILIZE A SCHOLARSHIP ARRANGED PRIVATELY THROUGH AN AMERICAN UNIVERSITY WHO SO FAR HAS BEEN UNABLE TO OBTAIN THE NECESSARY PASSPORT. THERE IS ALSO A CASE STUDY OF INTERFERENCE WITH A PRIVATE SUBSCRIPTION TO THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE; WE HAVE DESCRIBED THIS TO EUR-EE. WHILE SUGGESTIVE, THESE ISOLATED INSTANCES CANNOT BE REGARDED AS ILLUSTRATING BROAD GENERAL TRENDS.

5. IN US-POLISH RELATIONS, THE SITUATION IS DECIDEDLY POSITIVE (REF D). OUR ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH THE POLES  
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CONTINUE TO DEVELOP SATISFACTORILY. THE CULTURAL-INFORMATIONAL TALKS (REF C) HAVE ESTABLISHED A CONSTRUCTIVE FRAMEWORK FOR FURTHER PROGRESS IN THAT BROAD AREA.

6. RFE IS A SPECIAL MATTER. BEGINNING LAST FALL, POLISH MEDIA CRITICISM OF RFE BEGAN TO INTENSIFY. FOLLOWING THE WROBLEWICZ-BUTKIEWICZ INCIDENT AND THE LATER CASE OF PAVEL MINARIK, IT BEGAN TO ASSUME CAMPAIGN PROPORTIONS. AT VARIOUS TIMES,

THE POLISH MEDIA HAVE SUGGESTED THAT RFE ACTIVITIES ARE A VIOLATION OF THE HELSINKI PRINCIPLES. HOWEVER, WE FIND IT STRIKING THAT THE POLISH AUTHORITIES HAVE CONFINED THEMSELVES TO A PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN, OBVIOUSLY CONDUCTED IN UNISON WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. AT NO TIME RECENTLY HAS ANY POLISH OFFICIAL COMPLAINED TO AN EMBASSY OFFICER ABOUT RFE, ALTHOUGH OCCASIONAL COMPLAINTS HAD BEEN REGISTEED IN THE PAST. WE THEREFORE BELIEVE THAT THE GOP DOES NOT NOW WISH TO MAKE A FORMAL ISSUE OF RFE. THE CURRENT MEDIA CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE STATION MAY EVEN ENHANCE ITS POPULAR APPEAL HERE, IF THAT IS POSSIBLE. IN ANY CASE, THERE IS NO REASON WHY WE SHOULD RAISE THE MATTER WITH THE POLES.

7. THE DIVIDED-FAMILIES QUESTION IS THE ONLY REAL PROBLEM FOR US NOW. OUR IV ISSUANCE FIGURES HAVE DECLINED MARKEDLY. CURRENT PROJECTIONS INDICATE A 50-PERCENT DROP FY FY-76 TO BELOW 1,000, THE LOWEST POINT SINCE 1958. THE POLES HAVE NOT FORMALLY RESPONDED TO ANY OF OUR NOTES ON DIVIDED-FAMILY CASES SINCE THE FALL OF 1974. SINCE THAT TIME, THEY HAVE NEVERTHELESS SUBSEQUENTLY ISSUED PASSPORTS IN ABOUT 20-PERCENT OF THE CASES CITED IN THE NOTES. HOWEVER, THE RATE REMAINS FAR BELOW THE GROWING BACKLOG OF PETITIONS.

8. WE CONTINUE TO SEND NOTES ON DIVIDED-FAMILY CASES AND HAVE RECENTLY MADE NEW DEMARCHES. ON FEBRUARY 4, I RAISED THE SUBJECT WITH CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY RYSZARD FRELEK. HE SAID THAT THE QUESTION IS NOW BEING CONSIDERED AND EXPRESSED HOPE THAT A POSITIVE DECISION WOULD BE TAKEN.

9. CONCLUSIONS: ALTHOUGH FRELEK MADE NO PROMISES, HE AT LEAST HELD OUT HOPE ON THE DIVIDED-FAMILIES QUESTION. MOREOVER, HE GAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT A RESPONSE COULD BE CONFIDENTIAL

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EXPECTED REASONABLY SOON. I BELIEVE IT WOULD BE BOTH FRUITLESS AND UNWISE TO MAKE A FURTHER DEMARCHE ON THIS QUESTION NOW. BECAUSE AN ACROSS-THE-BOARD DISCUSSION OF CSCE IMPLEMENTATION WHICH OMITTED THE DIVIDED-FAMILIES ISSUE WOULD HAVE A MISLEADING EFFECT, I RECOMMEND AGAINST A SPECIAL APPROACH TO THE POLES ON CSCE AT THIS TIME, ALTHOUGH WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO MAKE ONE LATER.

10. I DO STRONGLY RECOMMEND, HOWEVER, THAT WE JOIN WITH OUR WESTERN COLLEAGUES IN DEVISING A PROGRAM TO IDENTIFY AREAS IN WHICH WE CAN DEVELOP CSCE INITIATIVES OF OUR OWN. WHILE CONTINUING OUR EFFORT TO MONITOR AND ENCOURAGE BETTER PERFORMANCE ON THE PART OF THE EASTERN EUROPEANS, WE SHOULD NOW BE PREPARING FOR THE VENTUAL ACCOUNTING IN BELGRADE BY COMPILING THE LIST OF INITIATIVES WE HAVE TAKEN.

DAVIES

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